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ACTION SSO-00

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FM AMEMBASSY HARARE
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INFO NSC WASHDC
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY
RWANDA COLLECTIVE
SECDEF WASHINGTON DC
CIA WASHDC

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 HARARE 004309

SIPDIS

DEPT FOR P U/S PICKERING, AF A/S SUSAN RICE, AF PDAS
NANCY POWELL

NSC FOR SENIOR AFRICA DIRECTOR GAYLE SMITH

USUN FOR HOLBROOKE AND ORR

OSD FOR MCCONNELL

CIA FOR HOUDEK

LONDON FOR PFLAUMER

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PARIS FOR BISA WILLIAMS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 08/03/10

TAGS: PREL PGOV CG

SUBJECT: EXTERNAL SIGNATORIES STRATEGY FOR THE CONGO
PEACE PROCESS: NEXT STEPS

CLASSIFIED BY SPECIAL ADVISOR JOHN PRENDERGAST REASONS
1.5 B/D.

11. (C) THE FOLLOWING REPRESENTS THE FURTHER ANALYSIS
AND POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS OF SPECIAL ENVOY WOLPE AND
SPECIAL ADVISOR PRENDERGAST REGARDING THE LUSAKA PEACE
PROCESS FOR THE CONGO. IT SHOULD BE CONSIDERED IN
TANDEM WITH LUSAKA 3426.

12. (C) AS THE CLOCK CONTINUES TO TICK TOWARDS THE UN
SECURITY COUNCIL ACTION ON THE REAUTHORIZATION OF MONUC,
IT IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY CLEAR THAT THE ONLY WAY THAT
THE LUSAKA PROCESS CAN BE RESCUED IS IF THE EXTERNAL
SIGNATORIES - ANGOLA, ZIMBABWE, NAMIBIA, RWANDA AND
UGANDA - DECIDE TO RAMP UP THEIR COLLECTIVE PRESSURE ON
THEIR RESPECTIVE CONGOLESE ALLIES. ALL OF THEM
ACKNOWLEDGE THAT THEY SHARE A COMMON INTEREST IN
IMPLEMENTING THE LUSAKA AGREEMENT, THE BEST MEANS OF
SECURING STABILITY IN THE REGION.

13. (C) FIRST AND FOREMOST IS THE COMMON INTEREST THAT
ANGOLA, RWANDA AND UGANDA HAVE IN COUNTERING THE THREATS
POSED TO THEM BY THEIR RESPECTIVE INSURGENCIES OPERATING
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FROM CONGOLESE SOIL. OUR MESSAGE HAS RESONATED WITH THE
PARTIES MOST CLEARLY WHEN WE SPELL OUT THE REPERCUSSIONS
OF RENEWED WAR RESULTING FROM THE OBSTRUCTION OF THE
IMPLEMENTATION OF LUSAKA. IF THE WAR RESUMES, THE
PRIMARY BENEFICIARIES WILL BE THESE INSURGENCIES,
PRINCIPALLY UNITA, EX-FAR/INTERAHAMWA, AND THE ADF. THE
CORE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC INTERESTS OF ZIMBABWE--AND
TO A MUCH LESSER EXTENT NAMIBIA--ARE HARMED AS WELL.
BECAUSE OF THIS DANGER OF ESCALATION, THE EXTERNAL
SIGNATORIES ALL AGREED WITH OUR ASSESSMENT OF THE
URGENCY OF THE NEED FOR THEM TO INCREASE THEIR
COOPERATION WITH EACH OTHER AND TO INTENSIFY THEIR
PRESSURE ON THEIR CONGOLESE ALLIES IMMEDIATELY. IF NOT,
LUSAKA IS DEAD.

14. (C) OUR MEETINGS WITH ANGOLAN AND SOUTHERN AFRICAN
OFFICIALS HAVE FURTHER SENSITIZED US TO THE CHALLENGES
OF MOVING FROM INTENTIONS TO IMPLEMENTATION IN SUCH AN
EXTERNAL SIGNATORIES STRATEGY. IN ORDER TO RESTORE A
SITUATION IN WHICH THE SELF-DEFINED INTERESTS OF EACH OF
THE EXTERNAL SIGNATORIES COME TOGETHER IN A COOPERATIVE
AND SUSTAINED REGIONAL STRATEGY, A GREAT DEAL OF TRUST

WILL HAVE TO BE REBUILT, AND SERIOUS DIALOGUE MUST BE INITIATED BETWEEN SOME OF THE KEY SIGNATORIES.

15. (C) ANGOLA AND RWANDA HAVE NOT OVERCOME THE SENSE OF BETRAYAL BOTH FEEL OVER THE EVENTS OF AUGUST 1998. ANGOLA BELIEVES UGANDA AND THE MLC ARE COOPERATING WITH UNITA. ZIMBABWE AND UGANDA ARE HIGHLY SUSPICIOUS OF EACH OTHER'S MOVEMENTS AND INTENTIONS IN EQUATEUR. AND RWANDA AND UGANDA ALMOST EXPECT TO BE UNDERMINED BY EACH

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OTHER IN PURSUIT OF THEIR INTERESTS IN THE CONGO.

16. (C) THEREFORE, IT IS CLEAR THAT FOR AN EXTERNAL SIGNATORIES STRATEGY TO WORK, IT IS NECESSARY FOR THESE PARTIES TO ADDRESS URGENTLY SOME OF THEIR DEEPER BILATERAL PROBLEMS. ADDRESSING THESE ISSUES ON A BILATERAL BASIS WILL PAVE THE WAY TO BROADER AGREEMENTS AMONG ALL OF THE EXTERNAL SIGNATORIES.

17. (C) OUR MEETINGS DURING THE LAST THREE WEEKS HAVE DEMONSTRATED THAT THE USG CAN PLAY AN ESSENTIAL ROLE IN BROKERING THESE BILATERAL CONTACTS AND BUILDING THE CONSENSUS AROUND AN EXTERNAL SIGNATORIES STRATEGY. ALL FIVE COUNTRIES HAVE INDICATED THAT THE USG CAN AND SHOULD PLAY THAT ROLE.

18. (C) MOST URGENT IS THE REQUEST FROM RWANDA TO HELP BROKER A DIALOGUE WITH ANGOLA. OUR ANGOLAN INTERLOCUTORS ARE CLEARLY INTERESTED, AND WILL AWAIT

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FINAL APPROVAL FROM PRESIDENT DOS SANTOS. ANGOLA ALSO MAY BE INTERESTED IN A SIMILAR EXERCISE WITH UGANDA. ZIMBABWE AND UGANDA MAY ALSO REQUIRE SUCH AN INITIATIVE, OR AT THE VERY LEAST FOR US TO CONTINUE TO CARRY MESSAGES BACK AND FORTH AS WE HAVE DONE DURING THE PAST FEW WEEKS.

19. (C) NOW IS THE TIME TO MOVE. THE KEY SIGNATORIES APPEAR SERIOUS ABOUT REACHING SOME DEEPER UNDERSTANDINGS. THE EXTERNAL SIGNATORIES STRATEGY WILL NOT BE SUSTAINABLE UNLESS SOME OF THESE SERIOUS BILATERAL ISSUES OF TRUST ARE NOT ADDRESSED.

110. (C) THE USG'S ROLE CAN AND SHOULD BE A MULTIFACETED ONE. WE CAN ACT AS FACILITATORS FOR THE ACTUAL POL-MIL BILATERAL DIALOGUES, OR AT LEAST PASS IMPORTANT MESSAGES BACK AND FORTH. WE CAN HELP FIND COMMON APPROACHES TO

SPECIFIC SECURITY THREATS ON A BILATERAL BASIS. WE CAN OFFER IDEAS ON HOW TO APPROACH OR PRESSURE THE CONGOLESE PARTIES WHEN THEY OBSTRUCT THE PROCESS. WE CAN SUPPORT THEIR DIALOGUE AND THEIR PLANNING FOR DDDR, AN ISSUE THAT ALL OF THEM FEEL DEEPLY ABOUT BUT TOWARDS WHICH THEY HAVE DIFFERENT APPROACHES. WE CAN OFFER IDEAS ON

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(AND CONSIDER SUPPORTING) INSTITUTIONAL MECHANISMS TO STRENGTHEN THE IMPLEMENTATION OF ANY BILATERAL OR MULTILATERAL AGREEMENTS OR UNDERSTANDINGS THAT EMERGE FROM THESE MEETINGS. FOR EXAMPLE, WE CAN CONSIDER HOW THE UNITA SANCTIONS COMMITTEE -- WITH OUR SUPPORT -- COULD HELP MONITOR OR INVESTIGATE ANY ALLEGATION OF COOPERATION BETWEEN UNITA AND THE MLC, RCD, GOR, OR GOU. WE COULD RESURRECT THE IDEA OF SUPPORTING THE DEPLOYMENT OF MONITORS IN KEY AIRSTRIPS IN THE DRC TO ENSURE AGAINST EASY RESUPPLY BY UNITA OR THE EX-FAR/INTERAHAMWE. WE COULD HELP ELABORATE A COMMON STRATEGY FOR SEPARATING THE GENOCIDAIRES LEADERSHIP FROM THE RANK AND FILE MILITIA, A HIGH PERCENTAGE OF WHICH PROBABLY HAD LITTLE TO DO WITH THE EVENTS OF 1994. WE CAN EXPLORE HOW THE UNSC SANCTIONS COMMITTEE CHARGED WITH ADDRESSING RESUPPLY OF THE EX-FAR/INTERAHAMWE MIGHT WORK TOGETHER IN SOME WAY WITH THE UNITA SANCTIONS COMMITTEE TO FURTHER COMMON SECURITY OBJECTIVES IN THE REGION. THESE ARE JUST A FEW OF THE WAYS THAT THE USG CAN CONTRIBUTE TO SUPPORTING THE NECESSARY BUILDING BLOCKS FOR A SUCCESSFUL EXTERNAL SIGNATORIES STRATEGY.

11. (C) A FINAL CAUTION: SUCH A STRATEGY WILL REQUIRE SOME PATIENCE. OUR MEETINGS AND THE RECENT POLITICAL COMMITTEE SESSION INDICATE A DEMONSTRABLE SHIFT TOWARDS TARGETING ANY SIGNATORY THAT THREATENS THE IMPLEMENTATION OF LUSAKA. BUT THESE REGIONAL LEADERS HAVE A TRACK RECORD OF WORKING VERY SLOWLY IN ACTUALLY IMPLEMENTING PROFOUND SHIFTS IN STRATEGY. ALL OF THEM NOW CLEARLY ACKNOWLEDGE THAT KABILA IS THE PRIMARY OBSTACLE TO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF LUSAKA (WITH J.P.

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BEMBA A DISTANT BUT SYMBOLICALLY IMPORTANT SECONDARY OBSTACLE). BUT IT MAY TAKE SOME TIME FOR SPECIFIC ACTIONS TO MATERIALIZE IN SUPPORT OF DISLODGING THE STATUS QUO. USG ASSISTANCE IN BROKERING BILATERAL UNDERSTANDINGS WILL IN TURN UNDERGIRD BROADER CONSENSUS - BUILDING AMONG THE EXTERNAL SIGNATORIES, IN THE CONTEXT OF A PROCESS AND PACE THAT NECESSARILY MUST BE OWNED BY THEM.

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